

1607/3313.
An old pamphlet for new times

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND,

EXHORTING,
FROM THE RECENT INSTANCES OF DISAFFECTION,
AND
THE HORROR TO WHICH THEY WERE EXPOSED,

TO CONTINUE PEACEABLE :

1. From the difficulty of effecting a Revolution, under circumstances which attach the nation to its government, notwithstanding of some real evils admitted on all hands.
2. From the uncertain issue of such an experiment.
3. From the folly of contending for what we already possess in the most perfect degree, Liberty and Equality; and of allowing others to impose upon us the belief of being oppressed by evils which we do not feel, and which do not exist.
4. From the consideration that the taxes in general fall upon that part of the community which is best able to bear them; at least, that they do not affect the Labourer, the Mechanic, the Manufacturer, nor the Merchant.

BY A TRADESMAN.

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1793.



ADDRESS, &c.

Friends, Brethren, and Countrymen,

IN a day of political ferment, when men are actuated by the impulse of the moment, when the latent spark of discontent is kindled in the mind, and all is bustle and confusion—the still small voice of reason can scarcely be heard. So much are we blinded with passion and prejudice, that every thing which wears the complexion of sobriety, so opposite to the state of our own minds, appears unworthy of our regard. Nothing but some great national calamity can bring us to a just sense of our pitiable situation in such a case ; and happy are the people who, when thus brought to such a sense, do not find themselves in a condition altogether wretched and deplorable ! Trusting, however, that such a phrensy is now
near

near an end, I will venture a few ideas upon the subject, which will serve as a caution against the arts of the wicked, and tend to confirm the principles of the loyal.

It is with the body politic—it is with nations as with the human constitution. A long and uninterrupted series of perfect ease and tranquility engenders a kind of disease of itself. A person naturally sickens of health who has hardly an idea of trouble : and it is just so with nations : For the restless spirit of man, always on the rack of invention, will, in the midst of ease, artfully find or think it finds cause of disquiet. This is founded in a strong principle of our nature, which prompts us to be vigilant of our rights, and even to look to the distance of posterity in framing and securing them.

Many, my friends, are the political opinions set forth at this time regarding these happy islands ; and, as a few evils actually exist, (of which I shall speak hereafter), they are magnified to the most prodigious and alarming height. Where are the people who enjoy greater national ease and tranquility than



than ourselves ? Indeed it is certainly the greatest that imperfect human nature can admit. Freedom and liberty here open the path to immortal fame and honour, to all without exception who have genius and ability to pursue them ; and every attempt to create disturbances in the state would evidently demonstrate that we are sick of prosperity from our ignorance of adversity. Many are the enemies of Britain. Long has she been the envy of surrounding nations ; but I must also say, many are her friends. We are prompted to change our form of government, as if it were a trivial affair. But through what seas of blood must we pass till that is effected ? And when it is accomplished, how can we assure ourselves it is to render our condition in life more comfortable ? Are there not good grounds to be afraid it may unhappily produce an effect altogether the reverse ?

Trust me, my friends, whatever may be the language of designing men, a change of government cannot be effected here so easily as in France, notwithstanding the horror which has been occasioned there by such a change.

change. There, despotism and arbitrary power were the very vitals of the government. A sense of the frequent usurpation of their property could not be forgotten by the people. The summary manner of trial, and the perpetual oblivion into which the condemned were buried in the Bastile ;— these, my friends, were more than sufficient to rouse a nation from the deepest lethargy to the most desperate measures. Who would not, in such a case, sacrifice their lives and fortunes to the cause of liberty ? You are told that the French were at as great ease and quiet as the British subjects when the Revolution began ; and that I readily grant ; But, alas ! the principles upon which their government were founded, were only like ashes under some combustibles, hid but not extinguished ; and though, from the peaceable temper of their late monarch, they felt little of their power, yet they were liable to be roused by the most trifling accident, and kindled into a flame ; whereas the flourishing state of our trade, manufactures, and commerce, have formed a strong and indissoluble attachment to the British government.

ment, which no internal power arising from the discontented is ever able to shake. Add to this, the extreme ignorance and superstition into which popery, as well as arbitrary power, had sunk the nation; and you have before you the cause of that unanimity, as well as ferocity, exercised in suppressing the royal power. I do not mean from this to signify my regret of the overthrow of despotism. Among the friends of real liberty but one sentiment can exist, and that a sentiment of exultation upon this subject; and, were the dark shades thrown on the picture by the deeds of those infernal murderers only removed, a pure and unmixed pleasure would naturally fill every virtuous mind in surveying it. What I would signify is, that people of this stamp are more easily wrought upon to effect the the purposes of revolution, whatever be the form of government against which designing men may think fit to direct their fury. "Ignorance is the mother of superstition, enthusiasm, and all manner of delusion, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and

and intelligent people are more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and are upon that account less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government." In Britain, that happy island, the envy of the world, matters are very different indeed from what has been represented of France. Here the power of the people is delegated to a government consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, wherein monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, are as wisely compounded, and as perfectly tempered, as the nature of this imperfect state of things can admit; and this power acts with all the dignity, despatch, and efficacy, for the general interest, which *can* be desired. Here, in place of having your property the sport of arbitrary power, it is protected from the depredations of the most powerful. Have you suffered an injury? you can obtain redress. Are you charged with a crime? you can only be condemned by the voice of

your equals, in solemn jury. This is the glorious boast of every Britain, even to the meanest beggar. And how often does the law inflict condign punishment upon the opulent oppressor, while the peasant, who is maliciously impeached, escapes with honour! Are there not many recent instances of tyrannical shipmasters meeting a deserved punishment for their wanton cruelty to their sailors? The law is wisely made, even for the meanest of us. It is true, that, in seeking redress, many disagreeable circumstances attend often all our measures; but, though these may sometimes be imputed to the lawyer, they can *never* be ascribed to government.

Thomas Paine, that great incendiary, paints to you, in glowing colours, the beauty of the French constitution, and the happiness of all who choose to follow them in the path of reform. And, to persuade us to imitate their example, he tells us we have no constitution *at all* in Britain. The grounds upon which he founds his approbation of the French constitution are the principles of their representation; but on this subject he

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states

states a flagrant falsehood. He says, that the French constitution allows the privilege of voting for a member of the National Assembly to every man who pays a tax equal to five shillings *per annum*. But the case is thus: Every Frenchman of twenty-five years of age, who pays a tax equal to three days labour, and is not a hired servant, nor a bankrupt, nor the son of a deceased bankrupt, shall be allowed to vote for a member of an assembly, which assembly shall choose another body of electors, which body shall become constituents or voters for members to represent *themselves* in the National Convention. This is the motely figure of French representation, "whereby at every stage the free citizens are excluded from their natural rights by additional qualifications in point of property. Yet this is the system we are told which is to abolish aristocracy. Thus, in the formation of the legislative body, the French National Assembly have, in the refinement of their metaphysics, lost the primary object which they contemplated, namely, a compound of three different objects of representation, the persons, property, and

and the territory which the people inhabit." This is a genuine state of the matter, and I am convinced it is sufficient to overthrow the credit of *any man*, even Paine himself, with all his boasted popularity: For what man of truth and candor could have the impudence to assert so glaring a falsehood? But this being a point of great magnitude for him, and its having little chance of being known among those whose minds he intended to inflame, he has ventured it freely, in order to complete the happy picture which exhibits the freedom of the French nation. And what, my friends, may we, who are no politicians, not conclude against him, since he is found to want truth and integrity? Indeed this very want points out to us that some other motive than friendship to Britain has induced him to write his inflammatory papers.

I must now, according to promise, take notice of a few real evils, which actually exist; and these are, first, the long duration of parliaments, secondly, the very unequal representation of the people. As to the first, there is nothing more evident than this, that

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“ there should be a frequent recurrence to
 “ the people for election, because it is their
 “ only security for the fidelity of the agent.
 “ It is the only practicable responsibility,
 “ whereby the representative is bound; and
 “ it is clear the seven years parliaments wea-
 “ ken the responsibility too much;” yet, let
 it always be remembered, that even upon
 the much boasted French system, there is less
 dependence upon the constituent than in
 England, owing to the mode of election.
 As to the second, the unequal representation
 of the people, this has arisen in a great mea-
 sure from the very progress of improvement.
 It is certain that the nation was more equal-
 ly represented, when parliaments were first
 held in the reign of Henry III. in 1264, or
 in the reign of Edward I. in 1295, when
 they assumed the form in which they have
 continued, ever since, than it is at this day.
 Towns which *then* existed are now in ruins,
 not a stone left upon another, yet *still re-*
presented, while many manufacturing towns,
 which then had no existence, now make a
 distinguished figure, and are *not represented*.
Trial by jury in civil cases is a favourite
 object

object of many, and by such will naturally rank in the list of grievances. But, when we consider the immense loss of time to individuals which would be occasioned by such very frequent attendance, and consequently the loss of national wealth to the community, which consists in the labour of its members, and add to this its tendency to derogate from the solemnity of juries in general, we will find little cause of complaint or dissatisfaction upon that score. But, for all our real grievances, my friends, there is a sure remedy, without laying violent hands on the government, whereby you yourselves, as well as others, will certainly be overwhelmed in distress and misery. Apply in a *legal and constitutional manner* to parliament, and you may depend upon it that your suit will be attended to, and your grievances redressed. Let a loyal people be jealous of their *real* right, and they will find a parliament ready to support and maintain them; but never, till the case is desperate indeed, put your hand to the sword, and appeal to heaven, the judge of controversies.

From the uncertain issue.—Never forget
how

how dangerous an experiment it is to alter and new model government; for you can no more tell to what length matters may go, than you could tell how much of your house would burn, were you to apply ever so small a spark to it, in order quickly to consume a part you might happen to think ugly or deformed. Did the first promoters of a revolution in France imagine, think you, that such awful consequences as have happened were to flow from their first motion of a reform? no—They really had in view only a moderate reform of abuses in their government, which were much more flagrant than any thing here. But, in process of time, when the minds of the people were overheated with that intemperate zeal which has ever distinguished them, the very moderation of those who first conducted matters became their crime, and many of them suffered death by that worthless rabble by whom the kingdom was in a manner governed. Think on the fate of the worthy the Honourable Rochfocauld, who was stabbed by his own tenants, in sight of his unhappy family, though he was a most sincere friend

friend

friend of the people; consider the melancholy fate of M. de la Fayette, one of those very officers who first imported the principles of civil liberty from America, where he had served with fidelity and honour during the war.

He was no less sincere in his endeavour to promote a temperate reform. * He was the first who brought an impeachment against Monsieur Collonne, the then minister and financier, and was active in his opposition to the registration of the edict for new taxes, the most popular of all measures. Yet, such is the jealousy of reformers, that he unjustly lost the confidence of the nation, after they had intrusted him with the command of the army. But the renovation of the constitution, the limitation of the monarchy, and not the *murder* of the peaceful king, being his aim, no sooner did he find the measures of the reigning party opposite to his views, than he abandoned their sanguinary cause, and went over to the Austrians. The jealousy of the King of Prussia construed this act into the finessè of a spy, and committed him to prison. In this situation,

ation, with only the sad variety of new turnkeys, and new prisons, he has ever since been deprived of that liberty for which he contended !

But, besides these, there are many more who might rank in the mournful list. To what a dreadful pitch of ferocity did the minds of the people arrive, when they were capable of being instigated to such unheard of murders, by those hellish rascals Marat, Roberſpierre, &c. whose names will be transmitted with infamy to posterity ! Such however are the fatal effects of breaking the bands of government, and dissolving every tie divine and human, whereby the mind is restrained from indulging its passions.

From the absurdity of seeking liberty and equality, being already in our possession. Let us now consider the object to be obtained by this revolution. Liberty and equality, I think, express the whole. Now what liberty would you desire more than the liberty of doing *what you please*, provided it does not injure your neighbour ? (for this is the civil liberty we enjoy). We are also bound by obligations moral and religious, whereby we

are hindered from hurting ourselves; and who in his right judgment would wish to be free from such restraints? By these our happiness, both here and hereafter, are secured. The comfort of society, and the safety of individuals, are equally the fruit of such restraints. A liberty to hurt your neighbour, which is the liberty of licentiousness, implies, the greatest of all absurdities; for your neighbour must of course have the same liberty to hurt you, else he would complain it is not a *free country*. Thus, it is plain, were your present liberty increased in the smallest degree, you would be in a constant state of warfare with all around you, which would be a pretty sort of liberty, indeed. Happy those who enjoy the liberty of Britons! They can sit comfortably under their own vine, and under their own fig-tree, without any to make them afraid.—They can cultivate their own fortune, in whatever way they may be situated in life, according to their own mind, and enjoy the fruit of their industry under the protection of the law.

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Here

Here no purveyor can levy for government in proportion to your apparent wealth. You pay only in general in proportion to your actual ability to consume the necessities, or luxuries of life, (which will soon appear), and the produce of your labour and industry will accumulate to you and yours continually.

As to Equality, many and curious are the opinions. The poor wretch who begs, says he must be equal to the labourer, the plowman to his master, and the tenant to his landlord ! That those fortunes which are above the medium must fall, and those under it must rise, till every individual be put upon the same level in point of wealth and fortune ! But this doctrine is so very gross and ridiculous, that the bare mention of the different claims in this agrarian law is sufficient to expose its absurdity. So long as men are endowed with different powers both of body and mind, so long will there naturally be a difference of fortune and subordination of ranks. Were any law ever to make it otherwise, we might have *equality* with a vengeance ; but we should no longer

ger enjoy liberty. Thus the industry and activity of one would be made subservient to the idleness and inactivity of another, and would so effectually encourage idleness, that it would pervade all ranks, degrees, and conditions of life. It would deprive the most active of the stimulus to industry, and force them thus to exclaim, 'What! shall we spend our time in providing for the very drones of society those things which they have no title to enjoy, while, after all our labour and industry, we can only obtain an equal share with them? Are these the happy laws of equality, which encourage idleness, check industry, and promote vice?' Some think that equality means their own advancement to the highest ranks in life, and that those they supplant shall descend to fill *their* station, and be obliged, in their turn, to feel all the hardships and sufferings which had lately been *their* lot. But this is not Equality. It only places matters just as they were, with this difference, that the sturdy beggar is uppermost! What a fine government should we then have! What fine salutary laws!

laws ! What a worthy executive power ! The fortunes, and not the virtues of our governours being thus augmented, should we not have cause to expect a partiality for those very vices which the laws ought to punish with severity ? This needs little illustration. The smallest attention to the conduct of those who are raised to eminence from nothing—even from want, will satisfy any one of the consequences we might expect upon such a commutation of fortunes. The farmer may complain of the present landlords ; the labourer of the present farmers ; but we have living instances of farmers becoming lairds and oppressing their tenants, and of plowmen taking land and playing the tyrant with their servants. ‘ The proudest nettle grows on the dunghill ’—‘ put a beggar on horse-back he’ll ride like a devil. ’ As to the comfort of such a change, even to those who complain most, (the lower ranks,) were they to obtain their wish, and be admitted into the company of the gay and the learned, I think their condition would be no unfit emblem (if I may use a bold similitude,) of that of the wicked if admitted

ted to heaven. They could not relish such company, and would ardently wish to return to their grovelling condition ! So nicely are our ideas and views of things accommodated to our respective conditions in life, that any material change would mar instead of mending our enjoyment and felicity. We should remember, that while the rich appear to enjoy much from their affluence, that they also feel much anxiety and care from the same cause. The very thought of the uncertainty of all earthly bliss is to them an oppressive load ; and, as you cannot partake of their enjoyments, so neither are you distressed with their sufferings, of which perhaps you have no idea. The rich are not objects of envy, but the contented are. Indeed contentment is the greatest of all riches. Learn then that virtue and you will acquire more happiness thereby than the possession of all the gold in the universe could bring, In *this point*, you may aspire to Equality with the most wealthy, without injuring him—but with respect to the more finite, and less divisible possessions of gold and silver, which belong

belong to the individuals of society, there is a law against invading them. And in whatever manner one attempts to dispossess the owner, he is as culpable as the highway robber, and exposes himself to an ignominious death by the laws of men, yea, and *damnation itself* by the law of God!

In Great Britain and Ireland we possess, as has been defined, the most *perfect liberty*, both civil and religious, and we also enjoy *equality* in the only rational manner in which it *can* be enjoyed. We have the same protection of the laws to secure our persons and property, and of course the same encouragement to industry with the most wealthy: And, should fortune smile upon our endeavours, we may equal, if not surpass him, both in wealth and consequence in the world. There are recent instances of individuals rising from a very poor beginning to figure in the higher circles of life. Industry, then, is the direct road to that equality to which it is *highly criminal* to aspire in any other way.

Beware, my friends and countrymen, of attributing to government any of those evils which

which belong to Society itself. Of this sort are many which arise from that venality and corruption which in this country pervades almost all ranks of people, and which no reform, no revolution whatever is competent to redress.

If you do not *really* find some intolerable and grievous burden imposed upon you by government, do not allow another to impose that belief upon your mind. Such evils cannot exist without being felt, and *you only* are capable of feeling your own sores. Many, under the specious name of *reform*, wish to hasten on a *revolution* of government. They represent taxes as a grievous burden. But we all know the end for which taxes are imposed; and we see exertions making by the legislature to remit them. But, when we fairly consider the nature of taxes, and how they operate upon individuals in the inferior ranks of life, and that they are finally repaid by their employers, we find less partiality in the law-makers who impose them, and less hardship in paying, as we only advance the taxes, than we were apt to imagine.

Some

Some articles of consumption may indeed be too heavily assessed, so as to drive the consumer to the use of something else as a substitute; but this always points out the remedy of itself, and has accordingly on several occasions been attended to effectually. No necessary and useful tax can affect a trading people in a flourishing state like Britain. Do not all artificers, manufacturers, and day labourers, charge the value of every new tax upon their employers, in the price of their commodities, or value of labour? The advanced price of such manufactures as are real necessities of life, such as are used by the lower ranks of the people, must be compensated to them by an advancement of their wages; and the middling and superior ranks alone have cause (if any cause exists) to complain of the taxes, because it is evident they fall *altogether* upon them.

Suppose, for a moment, all the taxes were at once remitted, the consequence is plain. The price of the manufactured commodity, and every article upon which they had fallen, and also the price of labour, would immediately fall. The rivalry of the traders

ders would produce this effect, as every one, to secure sale, would sell as low as he could afford, in order to command it. Thus, no difference of profit could arise from a reduction of the taxes. As well may the people complain of the freight of imported commodities, such as coals &c. as of taxes. They are both alike charged on the goods, and again charged by those who use them to their customers, on the articles in which they deal, or on labour in which they are employed. Let us take a view of the operation of the tax upon any one article, (leather for example), by way of illustration.

This tax naturally falls first upon that commodity while in the hands of the *tanner*.

The tanner is indemnified by the price he receives from the shoemaker, and the shoemaker adds it, (and that two with a profit), to the former price of his shoes. His customers consist of people of all ranks, the labourer, the mechanic, the merchant, the manufacturer, who all charge it on labour, and goods, and are finally repaid. The farmer alone can add nothing to the price of grain in order to indemnify him, as that

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article

article is regulated by a thousand circumstances, and casualties. He must have recourse to the proprietor of land, whose rent must naturally fall. But this, too, will not happen while the demand for land is great and increasing, till a bankruptcy among the farmers make it indispensable.

The operation of all taxes is similar to the above; and it is therefore evident that those who are most disposed to complain, I mean the lower orders of the people *, have the least reason. Indeed they have none at all.

Were the country indeed either stationary,

* It is a curious fact, that a workman's taxes do not amount to three shillings and fourpence a year. Thus,

60 shirts, and stockings in proportion, require

3 lib. hard soap at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lib.	-	L. 0 0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 ditto soft $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.	-	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

He may use

1 stone of candle, at 1d. per lib.	-	0 1 4
6 lib. of leather, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.	-	0 0 9
$1\frac{1}{2}$ peck of salt, 3d.	-	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

L. 0 3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

ry, or on the decline, with respect to trade, then the taxes would have a *real* weight, and would infallibly produce the most grievous complaints; because it is plain that, in such cases, the labourer could not raise his wages, nor the manufacturer his goods. Trade would turn languid, and all ranks would feel the severity of those taxes which they should no longer have the means of throwing upon the shoulders of the more opulent. A spirit of parsimony would succeed to a spirit of profusion, as every one would evidently see that he could no longer expect to be indemnified, either from his land, his trade, or manufactory. A man of great eminence, Sir Matthew Ducker, in speaking of taxes, says, "some certain taxes are in the price of certain goods, sometimes repeated and accumulated four or five times." And this is perfectly just with regard to taxes upon the necessaries of life. In the price of leather, for example, you must pay not only for the tax upon the leather of your own shoes, but also for a part of that upon those of the shoemaker and tanner. You must also pay for the tax upon the salt, soap, and

and candles which these people consume while engaged in your service, and the tax upon the leather which the salt-maker, the soap-maker, and the candle-maker consume while in your service.

You will say perhaps that many people have no trade, nor goods, upon which they can lay the taxes, so as to obtain indemnification ; that indeed their only trade is to consume, and that, with a very small revenue, they have themselves and family to support. This you will say is a pitiful situation. But reflect, that the misfortunes of individuals, in whatever manner they are brought upon them, whether by their own improvident conduct, or by that unseen hand which regulates the fortunes of men, can never be ascribed to government. Industry and genius, properly directed, will seldom miss their reward ; and a variety of motives, both natural and moral, conduce to make us active in providing against futurity. Exertions of this kind are not always successful ; but natural evil will often produce moral good. Our true felicity does not depend upon our wealth. It is the ration-

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al enjoyment of what we have, however little, and not merely the possession of much wealth, which constitutes true happiness. But, whatever may be either the cause or effect of such inequality, they can never be ascribed to our government, as such happen in all kinds of governments.

In this imperfect state of things, would it not be more surprising to find perfection in *any thing*, than to find that *all things* partake of the same imperfection? A variety of trials are no doubt appointed for us here, and that wisely, according to circumstances. On the one hand, poverty and affliction, with a sad train of evils, are the lot of many, while, on the other, riches and honour: They have each a natural tendency to try our virtue, and, if rightly used, will improve it. The atheistical French have withdrawn the prop of adversity, by undermining religion; and this will of course withdraw the security of the rich and affluent: but let us never subscribe to *their creed*, either religious or political.

Suffer me now to give you an instance or two of the judicious manner in which taxes

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are imposed upon the British subject, in comparison with that by which they are laid on by states *truly republican*. Taxes upon all those articles of speedy consumpt are laid on in the hands of the dealers, and every one pays his share exactly in proportion to what he buys, while in Holland and other states the people pay a yearly tax for liberty to consume them. Even tea drinking is taxed in Holland in this manner. Again, on articles of slow consumption, such as plate, and coaches, a licence is paid by the year of five shillings per hundred ounces of the former, and 20 shillings per wheel of the latter ; which is much better than to redeem such long annuities at one hundred years purchase on the first, and twelve or fifteen years of the second article, which would very much enhance their prime cost. Taxes upon the necessaries of life are much higher in many other countries than in Britain. Duties upon flour and meal at the mill, and bread at the oven, take place in some states, which have raised these articles so high as to injure the trade of the people very much ; while the taxes in this country fall finally upon

the employers without injuring the trade in any degree whatever.

From all that has been said, is there not sufficient reason to think that even those, if any, who are intoxicated with the maddening fumes of political rage, might be able, by the bare consideration of them, to dissolve the magic spell, and admit reason and common sense to their wonted dominion over their deluded minds? But, beyond a doubt, no man in his sober senses, who considers these things in the least, can ever for a moment suffer himself to be imposed upon. He will not be so deluded by the machinations of the discontented, as to relinquish that solid happiness he enjoys for more than their sophistical arguments could flatter him with.

Exert the powers of your imagination to realife and bring to view all the horrors of a civil war, and they will serve you, in place of a thousand murders and massacres, as arguments against sedition and disaffection. Behold the venerable parent butchered by the hands of his son! and the son by the father! Behold the blood of the nearest relations
uniting

uniting in one common stream, and tinging the rivers which augment the ocean ! But, what of all things most increases the horror of the scene, Behold them recognizing, in the agonies of death, the features of the dying ! Can any misery be greater than this ? To what violent acts of suicide does it not conduce ! Domestic comforts are more than annihilated. The chearful wife, the indulgent mother, are now in the agonies of frantic despair !——This, my friends, is no artificial colouring, to make fiction pass for reality ; it is truth undisguised. In all civil discord such scenes, to a greater or lesser degree, always occur. Even in France, that country, famed for civility, has felt the horrors of civil discord. In Britain, the struggle, as has been observed, even in the case of *great* defection, must be more violent.

Agriculture, manufactures, and trade,—every thing flourish under the auspices of so benign a government ; and it is but natural for all concerned to aid in protecting them. Hence that steady opposition to the views of the discontented and ambitious. Those very people who would join you with *zeal*
in

in seeking a redress of grievances at a proper juncture, will shun it at a period when the new fangled doctrines of a neighbouring nation are flowing with so violent an impulse upon the peaceful shores of Britain and Ireland. Indeed, this tide is now happily ebbing, and we have the brightest proof of unanimity and concord in both these islands which *can* open to view.

These dispassionate sentiments, from the pen of a tradesman, who, in common with his brethren, pays *nominally* a vast sum in taxes, will, I hope, have a happy effect. I trust the principles therein contained may not be thought unworthy of being adopted into the political creed of all my countrymen, and that they will *at all times* be useful in promoting and confirming peace and good order.

The printing of these sheets having unavoidably been postponed beyond the time in which they were intended to make their

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appear-

appearance ;—the trial and execution of the
the King of France * ;—the declaration of
war against all the world, who, on that ac-
count, were not already the enemies of the
French ;—their progress under Dumourier,
and subsequent retreat from Holland, with
that accumulated misery arising from their
long want of bread and clothes ;—are cir-
cumstances which could not be compre-
hended ; and they are here only mentioned
as a farther proof how awful it is to loosen
the bands of civil authority, especially in a
country where ~~more~~ is to be gained than
lost by a revolution.

* See the Trial of Lewis XVI. just published.

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